

THE NEW YORK PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED WEEKLY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The New Type of Statesman.

An amusing account of a visit to Senator Wade, at his home at Ashland, Ohio, appeared the other day in the Cincinnati Commercial, and has been widely copied, describing that gentleman's personal habits, mode of life, tastes, peculiarities, opinions, and expectations, and winding up with a cordial recommendation of him for the Presidency. Mr. Wade has now been for some time talked of for this office, and the letter in the Commercial, besides being an entertaining piece of personal gossip, is undoubtedly also a contribution to the usual work of preparing the public for his nomination—a kind of work which is done for candidate after candidate with the most singular simplicity and earnestness, although it hardly ever produces any result. We notice the letter, therefore, not because we believe it, or anything like it, can seriously affect Mr. Wade's political fortunes one way or the other, but because it contains an excellent sketch of a type of statesman which, though it would perhaps be inaccurate to call it new, is every year becoming more and more pronounced. The production of this type is partly due to a reaction against the European ideal of the public man, which prevailed during the earlier stage of the Government, and which held sway till within a few years—the polished, regularly educated, cautious, somewhat timid, formal, punctilious, rather unassuming personage, precise in his language, careful in his dress, distrustful of popular enthusiasm, and strongly influenced by the traditions and tone of thought of old societies. With one or two exceptions, the Presidential chair and the prominent offices of Government were filled by such men down to 1860. They were all Eastern men, or Western men of the Eastern type, bred in Eastern habits of thought and moulded by Eastern standards of propriety, however plain or simple their lives or humble their origin.

It is partly due also to the immense and rapid growth of the West during the last twenty years—a growth which has ended, as everybody now sees and acknowledges, in the departure of political power from the Eastern States, and which has for some years back been communicating to the language, manners, and thought of the political world in Washington what, from the "gentle" point of view, might be called a worse tone, but which we shall content ourselves with calling a rougher, freer tone—a tone marked by all but complete disregard of the Old World measures of excellence or desirableness. It is due also in some degree to the long absorption of the public in the anti-slavery struggle—a struggle so entirely novel in its nature that moral excellence—in other words, fidelity to principle—was during its existence, almost the only excellence offered of politicians in the Republican party. Training or knowledge of political science was of little or very inferior importance.

The new type first made its appearance distinctly and unmistakably in Mr. Lincoln. The Eastern public has undergone so many greater shocks since then, and he himself proved such a transcendent moral and mental success, that people have forgotten the disagreeableness of the impression made by his manners and looks when he first presented himself to the world as the President elect. They have forgotten, too, the painful and unwise occasions, by which the only relations which were made during the first year of his term of office, of his total ignorance of conventional rules, and in fact, of all knowledge of "the world" beyond what he acquired in an Illinois village. He grew so rapidly, however, his grasp of great principles was so firm, the issues he had to meet were so simple, direct, and clear, and his tone of mind was so elevated, and his written and spoken style had so much of that greatest of all marks of high cultivation, directness and simplicity, that long before he died his mental defects were more than forgiven and overlooked. In fact, by a process of assimilation, which was very old and in politics very common, his good qualities came to be regarded not as the results of natural force, but as the consequences of the peculiarities of his early training. A vague impression was diffused before he died that a youth passed in rail-splitting or working flat-boats was not simply a valuable experience, but a very good, if not the best, preparation for the Presidency. Regular training in schools or in cultivated society began to fall into disrepute, and, in spite of the testimony to the value of education offered by the war, there can hardly be a doubt that we came out of the war with a more decided reverence for schools and books on the part of a large number of persons.

During the first year 1865 we began to hear, for the first time in American history, expressions of contempt for education as a qualification for political duties from Northern orators, lecturers, and clergymen, and glorifications of common sense and the "natural man" in terms very like those used by Southern revilers of "free society" in old times. When Mr. Johnson was elected to the Vice-Presidency, he was himself so impressed with the political value of his early ignorance and obscurity, and we all remember how, during the following year, he doted us with accounts of it. His career has, however, done much to cause a reaction. He has succeeded in making people doubt whether it is a good thing for a possible President to reach years of discretion without knowing how to read, and whether the company within the reach of an ignorant working tailor is, after all, the kind of social influence which is best fitted to shape the character of a man who has to manage, even for four years, the affairs of a great people. In fact, we are getting back to our earlier and better faith, that nobody who is to fill a high official position can have too much at the outset of his career of every kind of influence that softens, civilizes, enlightens, and refines. Many of the influences of Western and Southwestern life are hardening and strengthening; but it is safe to say that there is nothing the typical American character needs less than hardening or strengthening. It is strong and hard in its very fibre; it is full of push and energy. These things are now inbred in the American nature, and there is, therefore, no need whatever that boys destined for a political career should pass their most teachable years as deck-hands or farm-laborers. The one valuable thing which men acquire from lowly beginnings is sympathy with poverty and friendliness; but, constituted as American society is, it is safe to say that no man will ever attain high political positions who has not got this, or does not successfully affect it.

We learn from the correspondent of the Commercial that Mr. Wade loves to tell long stories of his early cattle-driving, canal-digging, and wood-chopping, and he "passes

hours" in this improving occupation during the Congressional vacation. His library consists entirely of public documents, maps, and charts of the United States, so that of the wisdom there is to be found in Congressional debates and reports of Congressional committees we may be sure he is full. He reads the Cincinnati papers, the New York Tribune, Independent, and the Cleveland Leader, and he gets out of the "public documents." His other periodical reading is the Westminster Review and Harper's Monthly. "Mother Goose" was recently purchased for him by his wife, and he was so delighted with it that he learnt it all by heart. He also likes Nasby's letters, but keeps these for personal use in the family circle. He swears frightfully when in a rage, but always apologizes for "any wrong done, unintentionally." He hates butter and grease, unobtainably. He had only seven days' schooling in his life. This some people may think was a great disadvantage to him; but that would be an antiquated fallacy, inasmuch as at the age of twenty-one, mark you, "he had read a vast number of books, mastered Euclid; and was well versed in philosophy and science." Nor was this the result of hard, unintermitted study without the aid of a master. On the contrary, it was accomplished by a young man who was engaged all day in the heaviest physical toil, and whose reading of the Bible even had to be performed in the evening by the light of pine torches. No wonder the correspondent pronounces him "the best informed man now in public life in this country." Algebra he found very difficult, but he "mastered it," though working on a farm at the time, and though he had "to read it over fifty times without understanding it," and though he used to spend hours when following the plough thinking over the algebraic signs "without being able to make anything out of them." A man who, without the aid of a teacher, and in hours snatched from hard manual labor, makes himself "well versed in philosophy and science" before the age of twenty-one, may well be believed to stand higher than any of his countrymen in the realms of knowledge, and to be conscious of his superiority. But Mr. Wade acknowledges that even he has not reached the top of the glorious tree; in its very "flowering crest" who should be perched, according to him, but Horace Greeley, and "he," says Mr. Wade, "has more knowledge on all subjects than any man in this country!"

As neither of these great lights ever received any regular training of any kind, and as Mr. Wade's difficulties with algebra and the present quality of his literary pursuits show that he is not a person of extraordinary powers, it is no wonder that there is a widespread belief that school and college training in youth is not only not necessary for politicians, but it is not necessary for anybody. What Messrs. Greeley and Wade accomplished in the intervals of physical labor ordinary boys may very well accomplish by an occasional use of their leisure, without any master. In view of their accomplishments, what can be more useless and absurd than the regular educational machinery?

One other advantage which, in the opinion of a large class, "self-taught men" have over the poor house plants produced in the schools and colleges is that they are almost all, like Mr. Wade, "original thinkers"—that is, they make wonderful discoveries and produce new and startling ideas. As a general rule, it is true, whatever is valuable in their discoveries has been known for ages, but then this does not lessen the credit due to them for lighting upon it, and the consciousness which they all the while carry along with them that they are the first explorers of an unknown region naturally develops in them the bold and energetic cast of mind with which we are made so familiar in Congressional debates and reports of Congressional committees, and to which we owe so many startling novelties in finance, political economy, and, in fact, in the whole science of politics. The poor educated man, on the contrary, goes crawling along, demoralized by the proofs which his pitiless instructors every day lay before him of the vastness of the field of truth which other men and other ages have laid open, and is soon overpowered by a horrible sense of his own feebleness and deficiencies. If he goes into public life, therefore, he is either made timid and cautious by what he knows of the result of the experiment recorded in history, or by his familiarity with great principles, evolved by the working of other minds, and approaches great questions with a feeble and faltering step. The self-taught man, however, like Mr. Wade, takes any bull he meets by the horns, mounts the stump, and disposes of the most puzzling problems, such as the relations of labor and capital, in a few sentences. No wonder "he is considered one of our grandest public men."

We ought not to pass from Mr. Wade, however, without complimenting him on his magnanimity in calling the co-operative system "Mr. Greeley's plan." This generosity of great minds towards each other is very touching, but it is right to say that the co-operative system is as much Mr. Greeley's plan as the application of steam to inland navigation. He is, we believe, a friend of both plans; but the co-operative system, like the steam engine, was known and had been worked in various parts of the world while Mr. Greeley was still struggling in the earlier stages of the art of walking.

We find in the report on the organization of the new Cornell University, by Mr. Andrew D. White, the following starting passages, speaking of the necessity of a department of "jurisprudence, political and social science, and history." "We believe that the State and nation are constantly injured by their chosen servants, who lack the simplest rudiments of knowledge which such a department would supply. No man can occupy an legislative position and not be struck with the frequent want to men, otherwise strong and keen, of the simplest knowledge of the principles essential to the public welfare. Of technical knowledge of law and of practical acquaintance with business the supply is always plentiful; but it is very common that in deciding great public questions exploded errors in political and social science are re-advanced, fundamental principles of law disregarded, and the plainest teachings of history ignored."

What can he mean? The Reign of Terror in Mexico—The Fate of Santa Anna. The execution of the Emperor Maximilian at Queretaro is quickly followed by the execution of the ex-Dictator and quasi Emperor Santa Anna at Sinaloa. The Liberal savages of Mexico are evidently determined to carry out the programme of Robespierre, and create "a reign of terror" throughout the whole of the Mexican States. As each chieftain falls in that country, his principal upholders ordinarily suffer his fate, and the holocaust has taken place in the case of Maximilian would doubtless be repeated in the case of Santa Anna, if he had followers enough to make it worth while to expend powder in their execution. But there were very few Mexicans who had had the opportunity to commit themselves to the fortunes of Santa Anna in his present adventure; and, therefore, we may hope that the death of this

restless and ambitious man will have no consequences beyond the incident itself. Had he been allowed to land at Vera Cruz on his recent attempt, and to rally a party to his standard, as he could certainly have done, he would have been the means, either through his success or his failure, of compelling a greater or lesser number of his countrymen to stand up and receive a volley of musketry at their backs. In falling alone, and in failing in such an adventure as he did, we have a tragedy of less horror to record than that which occurred on the 10th of last month at Queretaro.

It is but a few weeks since Santa Anna left this city in a very mysterious manner to raise the flag of his own ambition upon the soil on which he had been such a prominent actor during the last half century. He had resided in the city since last summer, having taken up his residence here as a more advantageous place for his operations than St. Thomas, where he had lived as an exile for the greater part of the time since his downfall from power twelve years ago. As our readers know, his landing at Vera Cruz last month was prevented partly through the interference of an American naval officer; and the vessel in which he was a passenger having left that part of the coast in despair, was overtaken by a Mexican cruiser near the coast of Yucatan, and he was landed at the port of Sisal, where, as we now learn, he was speedily executed, doubtless by orders, special or general, that had been issued by the Government of Mexico.

The eagerness of Santa Anna to get back to Mexico has been even greater during the last few months than it was during the palmy days of Maximilian's Empire. It was ostensibly to uphold the Empire that he attempted to get to Vera Cruz three years ago; and it was ostensibly to uphold the Republic that he attempted to reach the same point now. But what he actually sought in both cases was merely the opportunity to gratify his own ambition, by placing himself in a position where he might seize the reins of power in one of the upheavals which are forever repeating themselves in Mexico. He was actuated by no such motives as moved Maximilian when he established himself in Mexico; he was laboring under no such delusions as overcame that unfortunate Prince; he was the victim of no such circumstances as led the Austrian first to a throne and then to a prison and death. He knew the character of the Mexican people, and their condition and their institutions, and no man had a better opportunity of knowing their will and their purposes. He knew that the Juarez Government, which is now enjoying the bloody revel of a Mexican triumph, regarded him as an enemy, for he had been directly warned of the fact; and he knew that he was repudiated by the Mexican people of both parties, for all his attempts to curry favor with them had resulted only in rebuffs and insults. He went to Mexico fully aware of his chances of meeting the reception which he actually got, and perfectly conscious that he was inviting the fate which he has suffered. He has gone the way to which he himself has condemned many of his opponents, and to which doubtless many of his executioners will, in their turn, be subjected by successful rivals. In his death Mexico has lost a dangerous man, and the fact might be matter of congratulation to her were her soil not still swarming with others of precisely the same character.

The same despatch which gives us news of the shooting of Santa Anna brings information of the fall of Vera Cruz into the hands of the Liberals. It was the last important stronghold to be given up by the Imperialists, and it surrendered just a week after the execution of Maximilian, or, we may suppose, as soon as its commander learned of the ruin of the Government to which he had adhered. The Liberals exercised more humanity towards the prisoners taken at Vera Cruz than towards those taken at any other place. The Foreign Legion in the service of Maximilian was permitted to leave the soil of Mexico, and at once sailed for our own port of Mobile in a French sloop-of-war. We suppose that under the circumstances they will be taken care of by the French Government, and such of them as desire to return to Europe will be conveyed to their homes at Napoleon's expense. One of Maximilian's last requests was that the Austrian Government should take care of them because of the faithful services they had rendered to him. We suppose that by this time the city of Mexico must also have fallen into the hands of the Liberals, and that the Government of Juarez is now installed in the capital of the republic. The situation is now one of increasing and absorbing interest, and we shall look with eagerness for the next scenes in the lurid drama of Mexican anarchy.

A Tammany Holiday.

Tammany had a celebration on the Fourth. A more amusing comedy we do not remember. The satchels, braves, and warriors were in full feather, and blazing with paint. Mr. Verplanck wore the plumes that fluttered over his brow when he danced in the "Pig-Pen" fifty years ago. Mr. Verplanck is, perhaps, the oldest member of the Democratic party now living, and as things go he promises to be the last to live, like "Geoffrey Dale" in the comedy, after all his friends have gone. We had our Mayor, who is kept in Tammany because he is tremendously respectable. Mr. Hoffman is said to be the most respectable Democrat in the United States—a very Turvaydrop in department. There was the frisky Mr. Cox, who left Ohio because of her constantly increasing Republican majorities. If Mr. Verplanck is the oldest, Mr. Hoffman is the most respectable, Mr. Cox is the most unimpaired of Jack Rogers, whose eloquence is so Ciceroian. But Cox has a friskiness, a vivacity, a capacity for bounce that Rogers never possessed. Then came Oakley Hall, who has become the jester of Tammany, with cap and bells, who vaults about with astonishing agility, and repeats extracts from Joe Miller. He was a harmless, innocent named "Mr. De Witt Van Buren, associate editor of the World," who read a poem. We remember Tupper in his last days, but Tupper cannot compare with this editorial rhymer. We are glad to know "that the audience responded to the principles it conveyed" for the true Democrat would not give a fig for poetry without principles. There were several letters read from Andrew Johnson, San Sloan, M. Blair, W. H. Seward. A corner-stone was laid. Mr. Verplanck made an interesting address. It was autobiographical, personal, historical, gossipy, archeological, and as interesting as a rummage among a bundle of old newspapers. Evidently, Mr. Verplanck knows what to say, and when to say it. He was in the presence of the Tammany Society, the orator of the day, charged to say all that was booting more interesting than the war of 1812. We should infer from Mr. Verplanck that there had been no war since 1812; that the country had always been at peace; that rebellion had never controlled the South. Mr. Verplanck has evidently forgotten all about our Rebellion, or, perhaps, he too well remembers it, and finds

nothing to be said in favor of Tammany Hall. Tammany is old and lusty. She boasts of her traditions, her history, the great men who have sat in her councils. Certainly, in a time when the nation was menaced with destruction we should expect signal services from Tammany, and an orator who had dwelt long and proudly upon the glories of the past and upon the glories of the future would have seen the old Salm's standard. A hundred hospitals would have been brightened and cheered by the bounty of Tammany, and our public men would have been comforted by her loyal words. What an orator Mr. Verplanck might have made had Tammany Hall been true to the country during the war—had her history been anything but timidity, apathy, selfishness! What a sorry sight it is to see this venerable orator ashamed to think of any war since 1812, and compelled to speak only the mere chat and gossip about men long since dead and forgotten! Mr. Hoffman may look wise and dignified. Mr. Cox may shout, Mr. Hall may caper nimbly over his sawdust, and jingle his bells. Nay, more, the innocent Mr. Van Buren may sing his forlorn rhymes. All this may be tolerated on Independence day; but how much nobler it would look if Tammany had any record! We sympathize with Mr. Verplanck. Orators have had difficult tasks assigned them in this age of talk. But we remember no orator called upon to celebrate a national anniversary who was ashamed to speak of the greatest and most fiercely contested battles in our history.

Negro Voting and Negro Office-Holding.

We admit that the qualifications to vote and to hold office do not in all points tally and coincide. The same citizen who may vote when he is twenty-one cannot be a member of Congress until he is twenty-five, nor a Senator until he is thirty, nor President or Vice-President until he is thirty-five. A naturalized citizen may vote all his life, but he can never be President. He must have been nine years a voter before he can be a Senator, and seven before he can be a Representative. But disabilities like these have no relation to color. A negro, like a white man, would be excluded from the Presidency if his age is less than thirty-five. A negro, the same as a white man, could never be President if born out of the United States. But every argument in favor of the negro's right to vote on the same conditions that the white man votes, is equally an argument for the negro's right to hold office on the same conditions that the white man holds office. The argument is that the rights of men have no relation to the color of their skins, and that although men may be excluded from the elective franchise for pauperism, for participation in rebellion, for lunacy, for felony, for alienism, for non-residence, they cannot rightfully be excluded for no other reason than the color of their skins. All distinctions founded on color are proclaimed by the Republican party to be unjust and absurd—a doctrine which they must either abandon, or accept its necessary consequence, that negroes have an equal right with white men to hold office.

The Republicans in our Constitutional Convention must therefore be consistent, and open the door for negro governors, negro mayors of cities, and negro occupants of every grade of office, State and municipal. It is their great mission to erase the word white from the vocabulary of politics. The eligibility of negroes to all public offices will be a harmless innovation in this State, their numbers being so small, and the antipathy to their race so strong, that their white fellow-voters are more likely to elect or even nominate them. Their radical patrons will not make them voters, not to share the offices with them, but to use them as tools for giving the white radicals a monopoly of political power. But in the South the boot will be worn upon the other leg. There, the voting negroes, instead of being an insignificant fraction of the Republican party, will form the great bulk of it. They will be a majority of ten to one in every caucus, and their delegates will be proportionally strong in every nominating convention. They will say, and justly say, the Republican party have made us voters merely to keep us in the country, and as their ascendancy in the country depends upon our support, we will exact an equivalent for our votes. As the white Republicans exclude our colored brethren from office in all the Northern States, we will redress the injustice by taking all the offices for ourselves in the South, where we have the power." This is a result on which the Republican party may not yet have reflected, but it is one which they cannot prevent. Equality in office-holding follows as legitimately from their principles as equality in voting. They dare not confer the one and withhold the other, lest the negroes, as they are, and as their ascendancy in the country depends upon our support, we will exact an equivalent for our votes. 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